

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

TAIWAN RESOLUTION

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, there has been some conversation here on the floor which I caught on my television as I went home about the so-called Taiwan resolution.

Since I was the one who put an objection into the unanimous-consent consideration of that resolution, I wanted to tell my colleagues what my problems were with that issue and why I object to the unanimous-consent consideration of that resolution.

Mr. President, with the thrust of the resolution, I have no problem. I do not agree, really, with all of the wording of it. But you never can always embrace every jot and tittle in words and mood swings. But with the general thrust—which is to strongly condemn the People's Republic of China for, in effect, saber rattling in the Strait of Taiwan—Mr. President, with that I have no problem.

But, Mr. President, we have gotten into a situation where the United States now has two of our largest aircraft carriers in the Strait of Taiwan. We have the largest country in the world, one of the fastest growing countries in the world, soon to be the largest market in the world, clearly the linchpin of stability in all of Asia, and we are in a very dangerous situation with them.

How in the world did we get there, Mr. President? We got there, in my judgment, because of the fault of the United States Congress, because of the fault of the People's Republic of China, because of the fault of this administration, and because of the fault of Taiwan and their President Li Teng-hui.

The fact that this fault is shared does not diminish or ameliorate the fact that we have two carrier groups in the Strait of Taiwan in a situation that could lead, probably not to war, but, Mr. President, it could lead to great difficulties. It could lead to an incident—two ships bump in the night, a rocket goes astray and hits on Taiwanese territory. And there will be those in the Congress who would say, "Let us go. Let us attack. Let us get the smell of grapeshot. Boy, the blood is running. Let us go over and fight."

Mr. President, we are playing with fire with the largest country in the world. I am old enough to remember when we egged on the people in Hungary to revolt. Remember those broadcasts? Some of you will remember. They went across the border. We wanted them to revolt, and they revolted. They wanted to know where the United States was, and we were nowhere to be found. I remember women pulling open their shirts in front of tanks and daring them to shoot.

Mr. President, before we get our macho up too much, I believe we ought to rationally consider this question. I believe we ought to consider the basis

of our relationships with China and with Taiwan and cool our rhetoric a little bit—and yes; condemn the People's Republic of China for what they are doing, but at the same time realize that it is the Shanghai Communique with its reaffirmations which was begun by President Richard Nixon, to the applause of Republicans, to the applause of Democrats, and to the applause of the country back in 1972, and reaffirmed by five Presidents. We have to understand that that communique, a one-China policy, two systems, peaceful reunification, is the basis of our relationship with China.

My problem with this resolution is not that it condemns the People's Republic of China, for saber rattling. I agree with that. But it misstates, I believe, the basis of our relationship with China.

In paragraph 5 on page 2, it says, "Relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China rest upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be settled solely by peaceful means." As far as that goes, it is correct. It has always been our expectation that it be by peaceful means, and we ought to reaffirm that. But by leaving out the Shanghai Communique we are suddenly shifting ground.

Mr. President, I believe anyone who thinks that we can shift ground from the Shanghai Communique, the one-China policy to which Taiwan has repeatedly adhered and stated that they were for, that anyone who thinks we can go to a two-China policy and independent Taiwan without a great deal of difficulty does not know anything about the Far East and about what is going on.

If we are to do that, Mr. President, let us do it with our eyes wide open, and let us also do it with our pocket-books wide open because here comes the new cold war if we are going to do that.

That is my objection to this, Mr. President. It is a subtle shift.

I asked the author, could we put in some words there, keep everything the same and just put in some words that say, in effect, we recognize the Shanghai Communique. The author told me he had no objection. But the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. HELMS, does, and other Members on that side of the aisle have objection to that. You see, that is the problem.

There is an intention in this body to shift ground to retreat from the Shanghai Communique, to go to a subtle recognition of Taiwan as an independent country. That is why I voted against the visit of Li Teng-hui to this country, Mr. President. I was the only Member of either body to vote against that visit. Oh, it was a sentimental return to his alma mater, Cornell, and we like Li Teng-hui. I met him, and I like him very much. I find him to be a very attractive leader. He is entitled to a lot of credit. He has brought Taiwan to a democratic system. It is a prosperous country. They do business with my State. I am for him. I think he is great.

But anybody who thinks that was an innocent little visit to the old alma mater and that is all it was about, Mr. President, did not read the press. You know he promised no press conference. But they put out the word subtly that, "If you reporters will be hiding behind the bushes when he walks around the Elipse, you just may be able to get an answer to your questions."

When he campaigns in Taiwan, he is stating things that, on the one hand, are ambiguous and, on the other hand, are promoting or moving his country in the direction of independence.

Maybe, Mr. President, at some time this body will consider that question and come to a different answer. I do not think so. I think if we had hearings and fully considered the question, we would say that President Nixon was right, President Carter was right, President Ford was right, President Bush was right, President Reagan was right, and now President Clinton is right. Indeed, Taiwan was right to go along with the Shanghai communique.

Mr. President, I do not propose to fight this resolution because to fight the resolution itself would be to indicate that I somehow have some approval of what the People's Republic of China is doing in the strait.

I do not. I think it ought to be condemned. When Vice Foreign Minister Liu was here 3 days ago and the distinguished Senator from California and I had a luncheon for him and had a long discussion with 10 Senators there, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Liu made it clear that the friendship of the United States and Taiwan is indelible, there should be no cause for alarm. China does not mean to go to war. But the United States needs to understand, Vice Minister Liu said, that independence for Taiwan is inadmissible, that all other issues are simple compared to this issue.

I think it bears repeating every time we have a chance that we should not by indirection allow ourselves to get into a situation where we are shooting out there in the strait of Taiwan and people are scratching their heads and saying, "How did we get there?"

Now, I said the administration was at fault, and they were because they indicated to Foreign Minister Qian Qichen that there would be no visit by Li Teng-hui, and they changed, and after the Congress almost unanimously agreed with the resolution inviting Li Teng-hui to the United States we might understand that, but the Chinese, frankly, did not, because they had been assured, they thought, that there would be no such visit.

I believe the Congress was at fault, even though I am the only one apparently, only one who voted that way and one of only a few who shared the view that I thought it was a political visit because Li Teng-hui treated it as a political visit, the world treated it as a political visit, and indeed the Foreign Relations Committee chairman and other members there have put in resolutions saying that we ought to admit

Taiwan to the United Nations—that is reserved only for independent countries—that that ought to be done.

So, Mr. President, I do not plan to oppose this resolution, but if it is brought up tonight I will want to question the authors of it as to their intent with respect to the Shanghai communique. It is very important that the Shanghai communique not be departed from.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I wonder if I might ask my friend a question.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I will yield to the Senator from Georgia for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana has the floor.

Mr. NUNN. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. NUNN. Is the Senator saying if we are going to consider a resolution on this sensitive subject that we ought to hear every word of exactly what we are doing, not do it at this hour of the night when people are not paying attention and understand what we say on the floor of the Senate?

Sometimes we do not take it seriously but other countries do. I have reservations about the way this resolution is worded. It is not what is in it. It is what is not in it. There is not much I disagree with, but it leaves out the whole history of the United States relationship with China, how it evolved under President Nixon, what happened when we normalized, the Reagan communique in 1982. All of that is left out of it. We are all concerned about what is going on in China, but we do not further the cause of stability and peace in that area of the world by ignoring what we have agreed to, by ignoring the history of President Nixon's visit, by ignoring the one-China policy which was adhered to not only by the United States when we said that we would respect China's view that that was their policy but also by the people on Taiwan. For years that is what has brought stability and prosperity to that part of the world.

If they are going to change that policy politically by Taiwan or certainly by military force by China, then we ought to oppose both. We ought to oppose it vigorously because that is going to cause turmoil in that part of the world for a long time to come.

So if the Senator from Louisiana is saying let us go slow, let us do not pass this tonight, I am with him. I think he is absolutely right. We are not going to solve anything. This is more heat than it is light. And we need to be very careful.

I would be glad to work with Senators on that side of the aisle in carefully wording and making sure we reflect the history, making sure we have an overall perspective, making sure we understand the U.S. agreements, what we have agreed to. We have not always

lived up to what we said we were going to do either. I think we all have deep concern about the dangerous situation developing there. We have deep friendship for the people on Taiwan and deep admiration.

So I would just ask the Senator, have I captured the essence of the point he is making here?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, the Senator from Georgia has captured precisely the point, precisely the point. It is not what it says. It is what it leaves out. It is a subtle shift of ground. It is the mood of abandonment of the Shanghai communique and its progeny that are the problem here, and I wish we would just take some time in committee, as the Senator from Georgia points out, to carefully word on a bipartisan basis a resolution that, yes, condemns the use of force in Taiwan; yes, reaffirms our commitment to a peaceful settlement of this problem but, Mr. President, one that, as the Senator from Georgia says, fully reveals the content of our policy with China.

We are in this soup right now with two carrier groups in the Strait of Taiwan because we acted hastily and treated the visit of Li Teng-hui as if it were simply a visit to the alma mater. I think we realize now that it was a whole lot more. It has gotten us with two carrier groups over there. That is what led to it.

And so, Mr. President, I say let us go slowly. I do not oppose what it says. But let us work it out so it truly reflects American policy.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I wonder if my colleague will yield for a question.

Mr. LOTT. Parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip is recognized.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I will yield to the Senator.

BALANCED BUDGET DOWNPAYMENT ACT, II

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, if I could get a clarification here, I believe that the Senator has indicated that there would be objection and we are not going to have a vote on this issue tonight, as I understand it, and we had announced to all the members 1½ hours or so ago that we would have a vote at or about 8:30. The distinguished Senator from Minnesota has been on his feet for probably close to an hour now seeking to get recognition to speak on an amendment that is the pending business.

Now, Mr. President, is that the—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is not the pending business. The pending business is the amendment of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COVERDELL].

Mr. LOTT. Would the Chair repeat that?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending business is the amendment of Senator COVERDELL of Georgia.

Mr. LOTT. I believe, Mr. President, it would be in order to ask for the regular order on the Grams amendment.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I wonder if I could finish my one question of the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

Mr. MCCAIN. Regular order, Mr. President.

Mr. LOTT. In order to wrap this up, I would yield to Senator DORGAN, and then I am going to yield to Senator MURKOWSKI. But I would like to get on with the business I told the Members we have.

Mr. DORGAN. I only want to amplify the point the Senator has made. The cloakroom indicated there was going to be a vote at 8:30 on an amendment that was pending. This is probably an appropriate time for a China debate here in the Senate, but I would certainly support the inclination of the Senator from Mississippi to get the regular order and move to the amendments that are now pending.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, would the Senator from Alaska like to—

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I would just like to ask my friend from Louisiana, with whom I share the responsibility on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and we work together, if, indeed, on page 2, line 23—

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, who has recognition at this point?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority whip has the floor.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I would like for us to be able to wrap this issue up. I know the Senator has some more comments to make on it, but we did say the regular order would be the Grams amendment, I believe.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thought there was a reference to Senator DORGAN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the majority whip wishes, the regular order will be the amendment of the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. GRAMS.

Mr. LOTT. I believe that is the order, Mr. President, and I would like to ask for that at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HUTCHISON). The amendment 3492 is now pending.

The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 3492

Mr. GRAMS. I thank the Chair. I will not take a lot of time. I know everybody is in a hurry to wrap this up for tonight.

I think this is a very important amendment that I offered last night. It has a growing number of cosponsors as well. It is called the taxpayer protection lockbox amendment. I think it is very important because I think we have been talking about trying to get a budget together, spending authority for this Government over the next couple weeks, for a couple of months in order to avoid a shutdown.

I think it was a glaring example this last week, when we are talking about a